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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A PHONOLOGY OF THE APA TANI WORD

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled 'A Phonology of the Apa Tani Word' submitted by Grace Jolly in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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To the Tani boys of the John Firth Middle English School, until someone, perhaps one of you, makes a more thorough study of your language, here is a beginning. For your share in it, 'ayadoh.'

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INTRODUCTION

The Apa Tani language is spoken by approximately eleven thousand people in NEFA, India's North East Frontier Agency. Because the Apa Tanis are a little-known tribe, a brief ethnological sketch of them is included here.

Tani^{ing}, 'man', is the tribe's name for itself. To their equivalent, Tani, the neighboring Nisi tribes have added Apa, the affectionate term for a friend. It is by the Nisi name, Tani, or Apa Tani, that the tribe is known in the Assam Valley and the outside world.¹

The Apa Tanis occupy a twenty-square-mile valley just south of the centre of the Subansiri Frontier Division. Before Indian Independence in 1947, the almost constant warfare among neighboring tribes kept most Tanis from venturing out of their valley to the Assam plains. They were first visited in 1890 when a tea planter, H. M. Crowe, spent Christmas Day in their valley. In 1944-45 and again in 1962, they were studied by Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf whose Himalayan Barbary and The Apa Tanis and Their Neighbors remain our chief source of information about them. Since Independence the Tanis have been very quick to take advantage of peace and new roads to begin trading with the plains. With the establishment of administrative headquarters in their area and the military measures necessary to meet the Chinese

threat, the whole Tani tribe is feeling, on an unprecedented scale, the impact of Indian culture.

Visitors to the Apa Tani valley invariably note the sharp difference between the economic system and social structure of the Apa Tanis and that of their neighbors in the Subansiri Division. Of the Agency's five mountainous divisions, Subansiri has by far the most inhospitable terrain. Here the turbulent Nisi and Adi tribes eke out a precarious food supply by shifting slash-and-burn cultivation supplemented by food gathering in the jungles. Contrasting with these mobile folk in their difficult hills is the stable and orderly community of the valley.

The skill, planning, and industry of Apa Tani farmers has no counterpart in NEFA or elsewhere in India. Living more than five hundred to the square mile, without using animal traction or the wheel, and using only wooden tools with, more recently, the Assamese iron hoe, the Tanis produce enough food for domestic consumption and a surplus for trade.² Every stream running into the valley is used to flood the paddy fields on the flats or to irrigate a terraced hillside. High land is allocated for orchards, house and granary sites; pine and bamboo groves; and gardens of beans, chillies, taro, ginger, gourds, and tobacco. Low hillsides rimming the valley produce their crops of dry rice, millet, corn, bamboo, and pine. The whole area looks like a well-kept garden.

Because the scarcity of land does not permit the raising of livestock in the valley, Tanis have established a complex network of trading agreements with nearby Nisi villages. Like their neighbors, Tanis use goats, pigs, chickens, and mithun, a small semi-domesticated buffalo (*bos frontalis*), for sacrifice and food. Nisis graze Tani mithun for a share of the calves and exchange goats and pigs for surplus rice. The skilled Tani weavers supply Nisis with cloth in return for raw cotton. Tibetan valuables like swords, bells, and beads which, together with mithun, are high-denominational currency in the area, are obtained from Nisi traders in the north.

Social as well as geographical stability marks Tani society. Before Independence, slavery was prevalent throughout NEFA. But while economic misfortune or capture in a raid might reduce a Nisi or Adi to slave status, his own hard work and clever trading or the intervention of his clan members could as easily restore him to free society. Among Tanis, however, the social classes, mite and mura, free and slave, are distinct and hereditary. Boys and girls of both classes may belong from childhood to the same 'patang', (work gang) and carry on for years the casual liaisons common among patang members, but mite and mura may never marry. Each mura clan is ritually related to a mite clan but there are certain mite rituals from which they are debarred. It is into the mura clans that foreigners are absorbed.

The small nuclear Tani family contrasts with the extended family which is the central institution of Nisi¹ Adi society. In one long Nisi¹ house may live up to two hundred persons, a man, his sons, and their many wives and servants. The small Tani houses, on the other hand, are occupied only by a mother and father and their unmarried children. While the Tani bride is first brought to her husband's home, she is moved into a house of her own as soon as her father-in-law can afford it and it appears that the marriage is going to succeed. Polygamy, the desirable norm among Nisis, is rare among Tanis as is the arranged marriage. Bride price is obligatory among Nisis but a gift to the bride's father is only a matter of courtesy among Tanis. Perhaps because they are not regarded as purchasable property, Tani women are not required to adhere to the strict standards of sexual morality demanded of Nisis. The Nisi¹ woman must remarry into her husband's clan; the Tani, within the limitations imposed by her class and strict rules of clan exogamy, is free to make her own choice again. The Tani wife's freedom even extends to the disposal of property, including land, without consulting her husband.

Tani villages have a more important function than do their Nisi¹ counterparts. While Nisi¹ longhouses are grouped together in villages, loyalties extend only to the houses of

clan members or to those with whom individual alliances have been negotiated, never to the entire village. Among the Tanis also there is a high degree of clan solidarity. Each clan or group of related clans has its own 'nago' (hut) for ceremonial purposes, its 'lapang' (sitting platform) for councils, and its 'buliang' (clan elder) to represent it in quarrels or discussions with other clans or villages. Tani villages, however, do function as units in such important matters as settlement of quarrels about land, celebration of certain festivals, and ritual abstention from work.

The Tanis live in seven villages of thatch-and-bamboo pile houses. No village is more than an hour's walk from its neighbor. Hang, the largest, is on the southeast of the valley with Hari and Bela to its north. West of the Kile River, which bisects the valley from north to south, are Haja, Duta, Mudang Tage, and Miche Bamin. Villages are divided into wards occupied by specific clans and represented by their buliangs in affairs concerning the whole village. For ritual purposes Hang acts alone, Hari and Bela together, and the four smaller villages, as a third unit. Twice yearly the villages join in celebrating the Morom and Mloko festivals.³ Peace among the villages is ensured by ancient and perpetual non-aggression pacts called 'dapo'.

The Tanis have conflicting traditions of origin but most say they came from 'beyond the Kamala and Subansiri Rivers' in three separate waves of immigration corresponding to their three ritual units. However, there is also the story that they came from south of the Brahmaputra and travelled northward to Tibet. On their return to the fertile valley they had noted on their way up they brought a type of male bamboo and the huge pines (*pinus excelsa*) which grow exclusively in their valley. Like their Nisi neighbors, they claim descent from the mythical ancestor, Abo Tani, for whom they are named. Like all but four of NEFA's thirty-odd tribes, they belong to the same culture complex as the trans-Brahmaputra tribes of Assam and Nagaland and such Burmese tribes as the Chins.⁴

Despite the obvious differences between Tanis and their neighbors in NEFA, there are very basic similarities. Under differing economic methods is the same core of highly individualistic, capitalistic ideas. Among the Nisis, wealth is reckoned in movables, Tibetan valuables, mithun, women, and Assamese silk cloths, and the concept of individually-owned land is unknown. Tani great ones are the ones who own land. But among both tribes the acquisition of wealth is man's greatest achievement; crimes against property are punishable by death; and, in affairs touching their prestige, wealthy

men indulge in 'lisidu', a ritual destruction of wealth similar to the potlatch of America's Northwest Coast Indians.

Facial tattoos, the red cane tails of the men, and the large blue-green earrings and nose plugs of the women, give Tanis a distinctive appearance. But under the different ornamentation they, like their neighbors, show the same imperfect blending of two racial types, the predominant Mongoloid and a taller, longer-headed type.

Like their neighbors in NEFA, Tanis believe in an after-life. Neli, the land of the dead, is situated under the earth. Life there is a shadowy replica of life in the Apa Tani Valley with the rich still rich and the poor still poor. Talimoko, a less happy land of the dead located in the sky, is inhabited by the spirits of those who have been killed or who have died in accident or childbirth. Priests and shamans propitiate the malignant ancestral ghosts, 'ʔigeh', who return from Talimoko to plague men, as well as the 'ʔui?', innumerable pairs of male and female deities who are in charge of men's affairs. Tani views of these 'ʔui?' are entirely anthropomorphic. Priests who see them in trances describe them as looking like Tanis or Nisi; they accept for sacrifice the same things men consider valuable. Taking omens by examining yolks of eggs or the entrails of fowl is the means by which the future may be foretold,

ill luck averted, and the sources of illness diagnosed. Very important is the worship of Danyi Pulo, the sun-moon deity.

In his Philosophy for NEFA, anthropologist Verrier Elwin writes,

For centuries the real ruler of the tribal people has been environment. It has shaped their bodies, directed their art, forced Babel on their tongue...⁵

With its high mountain ranges and its deep river valleys, Subansiri Division is a babel of dialects. People who feel themselves to be of the same race but who come from widely-separated points communicate only with great difficulty. But from the northern border to the Nisi villages on the plains, contiguous communalects are always mutually intelligible. Only at the Apa Tani Valley is there a language barrier. Unless they have learned one another's languages through trade or work relationships, Tanis cannot communicate with other people of Subansiri.

Here again, however, the linguistic picture reflects the cultural. In spite of the immediately obvious differences, there is the underlying core of sameness. Using mutual intelligibility as the criterion, Tani must be classified as a language separate from the other languages of the area. But

a check with a basic word list in Tani, two Nisi dialects, and Gallong Adi of the Siang Frontier Division, showed that Tani shares between seventy and eighty per cent of its basic vocabulary with each of the other communalects.⁶

Though Tani speech is more homogeneous than that of any other group of similar size in the area, each of the seven villages does have its characteristic dialect. Unsophisticated adult visitors listening to a tape or record prepared by a school boy can always identify his village correctly. Larger dialect differences do not parallel traditional village groupings. For example, though Bela is ritually linked to Hari, its dialect more closely resembles those of the Haja, Duta, Modang Tage and Miche Bamin group. The Hari dialect is felt to be especially different, difficult, and 'sweet to hear'.⁷

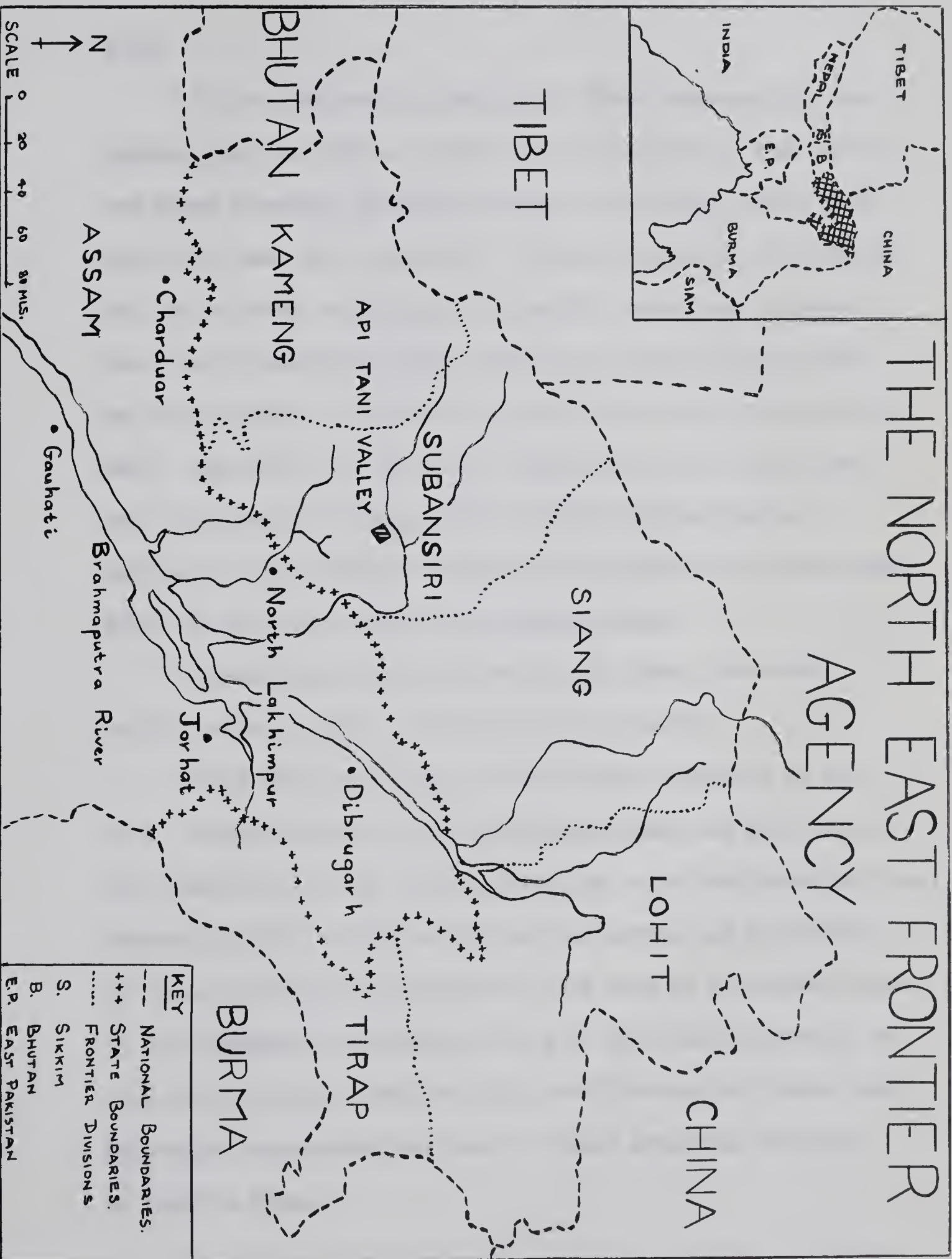
Besides the language of casual speech, some Tanis use a highly-stylized language for singing their songs of creation and for certain stories and poems. Besides this language, used only by the initiated, there is a secret language formed by reversing syllables of words.

Oratory is highly-developed and much admired among the Tanis. Even very young boys take pride in expressing themselves well before a group of people. Arguments are never settled without lengthy speeches on both sides and much advice and moralizing by intermediaries.

The following phonology of the Apa Tani word is based on the casual speech of Habung Tagya of Bela Village. Shorter word lists elicited from Koj Laleng of Bela and Hage Koji of Hari were used as a check.

On Assam's North Bank, multilingualism is the norm for men and boys. Besides their mother tongue, the informants spoke Nisi, Hindi, and Assamese with varying degrees of fluency. They had been exposed to three or four years of formal education in English as well. Tagya was chosen as the main informant because he was the oldest, about nineteen. Also, he had been away from his village the shortest length of time, a little over a year. He was least fluent in Assamese, the language in which the sessions had to be conducted, but two devices helped overcome this disadvantage. The words elicited were from a list formerly used in English sessions with a Nisi college student. Where Tagya could not respond to an Assamese word, he could usually give the Tani equivalent for a Nisi word. Also Koji sat with him in most sessions. After eight years on the plains, he spoke fluent Assamese and knew some English so could help if difficulties in communication arose.

The single words were recorded on tapes in North Lakhimpur, Assam, and transcribed at the University of Alberta.



NOTES

¹ I have followed Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf's suggestion that the Dafla and Miri tribes of Kameng, Subansiri, and Siang Frontier Divisions are more correctly called Nisi, their own name for themselves. He cites examples of linguistic and cultural uniformity and common traditions as proof that the distinction between them is an arbitrary one made by plains people. Closely related to the Nisi tribe are the Adis. Adi again is the tribe's name for itself and, following the practice of independent India's administrative officers, I have used it instead of the offensive plains term, Abor, by which the tribe was formerly known.

² According to the 1961 census of India, there are 10,745 Tanis in 2,520 households in the valley.

³ That Mloko and Morom are fertility festivals is evident. Phallic dances and processions of men and boys led to the fields by a priest scattering rice, mark the Morom festival; Prayers to Kilo and Kiru, gods of the earth, and sacrifices by clans in their village gardens are some of the Mloko rites. It is incumbent on the eldest male of each Tani household to keep these feasts. The few Tanis who live on the plains send household representatives back to their ancestral villages to observe them.

⁴ Sachin Roy, Aspects of Padam-Minyong Culture, pp.259-263; Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, Apa Tanis and Their Neighbors, p.6. The North East Frontier Agency, divided from west to east into Kameng, Subansiri, Siang, Lohit, and Tirap Frontier Divisions, is the home of approximately 600,000 tribals. Except for four Buddhist tribes, two of the Tibetan pattern in Kameng, and two in Lohit related to the Shans and Kachins of Burma, all NEFA tribes belong to the same 'bamboo culture' complex as the trans-Brahmaputra tribes. Sachin Roy sees them as originally one people, divided and pushed back into the hills by waves of immigrants coming into the Assam Valley from the east. Von Fürer-Haimendorf points out strong resemblances between the Naga and Chin feasts of merit and the Tani notables' provision of meat for villagers at festival time.

⁵ Verrier Elwin, A Philosophy for NEFA, p.6. Tani dialects are always identified by the name of the village. Nisi dialects are identified either by the name of the clan or by the general geographic area. I have seen teenage speakers of the Yano dialect from the plains below Kameng in tears of frustration over their inability to communicate with members of the same Nisi tribe from Subansiri. On the other hand, Nisis from the lower part of Subansiri seem to have little trouble communicating with Gallong Adis from deep in Siang.

⁶ The following comparative list exemplifies some fairly typical comparisons:

Tani	Licha Nisi	Bengya Nisi	Gallong Adi	
gandáh	giida	ganda	gíídáá	<u>earth</u>
yásih	?is	?is	?íhi	<u>water</u>
?alááh	?ala?	laa?	?álák	<u>hand</u>
tályitoh	tiixtoh	tifto?	tákatok	<u>ask (imp.)</u>
?adíŋ	dumpoh	dumpoh	dumpóh	<u>head</u>
kón	?akin	?akin	?akín	<u>one</u>

⁷ The Bela informants said, "When one of our girls marries into any other village, it is only a matter of weeks until her speech fits in. But a girl who goes to Hari will be a year learning their dialect."

1.1. Phoneme Inventory

Apa Tani has the following phonemes:

Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops vl.	p	t		c	k	ʔ
vd.	b	d		j	g	
Fricatives		s			x	h
Nasals	m	n		n ^y	ŋ	
Laterals		l		l ^y		
Trill			r			
Semivowel				y		

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Low	e	a	o

Tones

High	ˈ
Low	Unmarked

1.2. Attestation of Inventory

1.2.1. Examples of consonantal contrasts appear in the following minimal and subminimal pairs.

1.2.1.1. Contrasts in position of articulation.

Stops:

Voiceless:

ruupín small earrings worn by men:

ruutín large earrings worn by women;

pápu egg: pacúh chick; tápáríh stocks:

takaríí star; haapáh plateau:

haʔalóh branch; tatíí frog: taʔacih crab;

táarúh bad to drink: káárúh ugly;

tamíʔ fly: ʔamííh shade; páyopaacóh thank you:

raakóʔ tortoise; dacán metal:

haʔalóh branch; kubúh rat: ʔúguh hearth.

Voiced:

sibíín goat: sidín deer; ʔabúúh fertile:

Stops: (continued)

Voiced:

ʔájuh features; tabún smallpox:

ʔagún tongue; ʔadíŋ head: ʔajín friend;

daarüh can't walk: gáároh field;

jáántúúh fat: gaandáh earth.

Fricatives:

sooján lizard: xooncán corner;

saampóh basket: haalúh clan; xúh old:

húúh who.

Nasals:

móoh he: nooh you: ŋooh I;

punúh brain: punʷúh spoon; míflōh husband:

nʷííboh guest; nʷáácuŋ lip: ŋarnííh laughing.

Laterals:

húlíh boil (noun): húlʷíʔ lard.

Trill and

Semivowel: taríʔ itch: tayíʔ leprosy.

1.2.1.2. Contrasts in manner of articulation.

Bilabial:

paáte tiger: baalúpápu seedling:

marpúúh corn tassel.

Dental and
Alveolar:

táaruh bad to drink: daaruh can't walk:

saampyáh earth-carrying basket:

naarún fence for bamboo grove;

laancán red: raakó? tortoise.

Alveopalatal:

cirú? purse: jííjíí blue-green:

nʔíʔimóh face; lʔégóh threshold:

yásih water.

Velar:

koobrán bracelet: góómúh moustache:

xooncán corner: ɲooh I.

Glottal: ʔéémoh paddy: héʔétéh irrigation channel inside
a field.

1.2.2. Examples of vowel contrasts are cited below.

1.2.2.1. Contrasts in tongue height among single vowels.

Front Vowels:

inYih sweet potato: ?inYeh jungle potato,
taro.

Central Vowels:

tipé tattoo: tapé? leech.

Back Vowels:

?áátuh baby or small thing:

?áátuh term of address for father-in-law or
grandfather, literally 'lord'.

1.2.2.2. Contrasts in degree of fronting among single
vowels.

High Vowels:

mítih master: mítih fix; sídín deer:

sudúú bamboo water vessel, Assamese chungá;

tarí? 1. itch 2. grass; tarú? ant.

Low Vowels:

?aáteh elder brother or paternal uncle:

?áátáh elder sister or paternal aunt:

?áátoh father-in-law or grandfather.

1.2.3. Examples of contrasts between high and low tone.²

/tááruh/ bad to hear, shouldn't or can't

be heard: /taaruh/ bad to drink, can't

drink; /tari?/ 1. itch 2. grass: /tári?/

hail or sleet; /tanóh/ mucus: /tánoh/

thread.

1.3. Allophony

1.3.1. Consonant Allophones.

The phonemes /p t c k ?/ have unaspirated

voiceless stop allophones in all positions:

/pilán/ [pílán ~ píláá] yellow; /tiyi?/

[t̪iyíʔ] sweet; /cífirih/ [cífirîh] Tibetan
sword; /ʔáci/ [ʔáč̣í] pain; /kácóh/ [káč̣óh]
dirty.

The phonemes /b d g/ have voiced stop allo-
 phones [b d g], in initial position: /bármí/

[bárm̥í] younger sister; /bílááh/ [bílááh]

Bela, one of the seven Apa Tani villages;

/dánʏí/ [dányí] sun; /dípyoh/ [dípy̥h]

Thief; /góómúh/ [góómúh] moustache;

/gaandáh/ [gàandá·h] earth.

/b g/ have voiced fricative allophones [b̥ g̥]

with occasional free variation to stops [b g] when occur-
 ring intervocalically and in consonant clusters: /nʏífbóh/
 [nyífbóh] guest; /gorbán/ [gorb̥áá] shoulder; /haabyán/
 [hààbyáá] breast; /tabún/ [t̪abún] smallpox; /yorbííh/
 [y̥orbííh] mountain; /hubyúh/ [h̥ubyúh] scabbard; /ʔagún]

[ʔagúú] tongue; /yaági/ [yàági] basket;

/tanogorgóh/ [tànògòrgóh] snail; /ʔargéʔ/

[ʔàrgéʔ] quiver for arrows; /yuugyán/

[yùùgyáá] altar; /ʔigyih/ [ʔígyih] malignant

ghost; /ʔáábáh/ [ʔáábáh ~ ʔáábáh] father;

/ʔúguh/ [ʔúguh ~ ʔúguh] hearth.

In the environments listed above /d/ has stop

allophone [d] with occasional free variation to [ǎ]; /haadíih/

[hàǎdíih] anger; /pardáh/ [pàrdáh] straight road; /ʔáárdáh/

[ʔáárdáh ~ ʔáárdáh] tomorrow; /kánúdáh/ [kánúdáh ~ kánúdáh]

seventh day.

The phoneme /s/ has allophones [š] preceding

high front vowels and [s] elsewhere: /yásih/ [yá<ših ~

yá<šǐ] water; /tasín/ [tà<šín ~ tà<šíí] shrimp; /tasán/

[tà<sán] bead; /yasóh/ [yá<sóh] cane.

The phoneme /x/ has velar fricative allophone [x] in all positions:

/xúh/ [xúh] old.

The phoneme /h/ has glottal fricative allophone [h] in all positions:

/haalúh/ [hàalúh] clan.

The phoneme /m/ has allophone [m] in all positions:

/mudóh/ [mùdóh] rain.

The phoneme /nʏ/ has allophone [ny] in all positions:

/nʏibyááh/ [nyîbyááh] quick

The phonemes /n ɲ/ have voiceless allophones [n̥ ɲ̥] varying freely with voiced [n ɲ] in final position.

Voiced allophones [n ŋ] occur in all other positions:

/diɪmpɪŋ/ [di̯ɪmpɪŋ~di̯ɪmpɪŋ] ornamental head band;

/halyán/ [hályáŋ ~ hályáŋ] plainsman or any

foreigner; /ŋooh/ [ŋòòh] I; /nííimih/ [nííimih]

me; /róŋetah/ [róŋètàh] again; /lánkuuh/ [lánkuùh]

sitting crooked; /páárín/ [páárín, pááríí] sparrow;

/nooh/ [nòòh] you; /neesúh/ [nèèsúh] granary;

/laancán/ [laàncán] red; /leendáh [lèèndá·h]

path.

The laterals /l/ and /lʏ/ have voiced dental and alveopalatal allophones [l] and [lʏ] respectively;

/ʔaléh/ [ʔàléh] wing; /ʔalʲán/ [ʔàlyáán] ten.

The phoneme /r/ has allophones [ʃ r r ʀ ʁ ° ʁ].

The voiceless trilled allophone [ɾ̥] occurs utter-
ance finally; /ʔémar/ [ʔéməɾ̥] dew; /múpur/ [múpʉ̥ɾ̥]

a broken valuable.

[ṛ̌] is in free variation with [ṣ̌] following a velar fricative; /tano páxruh/ [tànò páxřùh tànò páxšù] snail shell; The flapped allophone [ṛ̌̆] and trilled [ṛ̌̆̆] are in free variation intervocalically; /lúruh/ [lúřùh~lúř̆ùh] bad speech, that which should not be said; /mîráh/ [mîřáh~mîř̆áh] slave; The allophone [ʔṛ̌̆̆] is in free variation with [ṛ̌̆̆] utterance initially: /ríídah/ [ř̆íídàh~ʔř̆íídàh] third day; /raakóʔ/ [ř̆ààkóʔ~ʔř̆ààkóʔ] tortoise.

The voiced central glide allophone [r] occurs as second member of utterance-initial consonant clusters: /prín^yidah/ [prí.nyîdàh] eighth day; /grùntán/ [grùntá^h] matchmaker.

The trilled allophone [ṛ̌̆̆] occurs in all other positions: /kurmúh/ [kuřmúh] grasshopper; /sarcéh/ [săřčé.h] torn cloth.

The phoneme /y/ has a voiced alveopalatal glide allophone [y]: /yuugyán/ [yuùgyáá] altar.

1.3.2. Vowel Allophones.

The high vowels phonemes /i u/ tend to be more tense when doubled or accompanied by high tone, lax when occurring singly and accompanied by low tone: /míípyááh/ [míípyááh] early rice; /salʸíʔ/ [sà lyíʔ] blue-green; /ʔabúúh/ [ʔàbúúh] fertile; /sííatúh/ [síí àtúh] calf; /misí/ [mîsí] old man; /taʔakiʔ/ [tàʔàkîʔ] ginger; /putáh/ [pùtáh] bird; /yámuh/ [yá:mùh] fire.

The high, back vowel /u/ has little lip rounding.

The high, central vowel /i/ is characteristically lax:

/típé/ [tîpé] tattoo; /liipáh/ [lîîpáh] middle child.

The high vowels /i i u/ have voiceless allophones

[i̥ i̥ u̥] utterance finally when accompanied by low tone and

preceded by a voiceless consonant: /hárti/ [hárti̥] foam;

/ʔáci/ [ʔáci̥] pain; /ŋíki/ [ŋíkî̥] mine; /pápu/ [pápû̥~

pápû̥] egg.

There is one example in the corpus of voiceless allophone following a nasal consonant /písásááni/ [písásáán̥] pine tree.

The phonemes /i u/ have nasal allophones [i̥ u̥] when preceding utterance final nasal consonants /n ɲ/. Utterance finally, sequences of single vowel plus nasal consonant as [iɲ] or [i̥ɲ], phonemically /iɲ/ are in free variation with [ii̥]: /kirlín/ [kirlín̥~kirlíi̥] elbow; /sídín/ [sídín̥~sídíi̥] deer; /subún/ [subún̥~subúi̥] sheep.

Low vowels / e o / range phonetically from mid to low. /o/ has very little lip rounding.

Utterance finally, when accompanied by low tone, the phoneme /e/ has voiceless allophone [e̥]: /paáte/ [pàḁ́tè~pàḁ́te] tiger.

The phoneme /a/ has the allophones (ḁ~a~a^~^~e).

The allophone [ḁ] precedes alveopalatals: /yásih/ [yḁ́s̥ih~yḁ́s̥i̥] water; /ʔalɣíʔ/ [ʔḁ̀lɣíʔ] wind.

The allophones [a^] and [ʌ] are in free variation preceding velar consonants: /ʔelʏáŋ/ [ʔèlyáʌ́ŋ] head of a cereal grain like millet; /tasáŋ/ [tàsáŋ] bead.

The allophone (e) precedes the phoneme /r/: /tadaríí/ [tàdèríí] worm; /lígardóh/ [lígèrdoh] bent.

The allophone [a] occurs in all other positions: /yopátóh/ [yòpá.tóh] leave it (imp.); /táági/ [táágǽ] sickle.

Nasal allophone [ã] is in free variation with [aŋ~aŋ], phonemically /aŋ/, utterance finally /tasáŋ/ [tàsáŋ~tasá^á^]. bead.

1.3.3. Pitch Allophones

High pitch is always accompanied by stress: /mílʏóh/ [mílʏóh] flame; /rúúni^h/ [rúúni^h] mad.

1.3.4. Vowel allophones conditioned by length.

Single vowels when accompanied by high tone, tend to be phonetically longer than when accompanied by low tone

(but still in contrast with doubled vowels): /yorbíh/

[yðrbí.h] mountain; /ʔálóóh/ [ʔá.lóóh] bone.

1.4. Distribution of Phonemes.

1.4.1. The syllable is a convenient unit for consideration of the Tani word. Each syllable contains one high point of sonority which is always a vowel. The vowel is phonemically single or doubled. The commonest syllable type begins with a consonant or a cluster of two consonants. Syllables may be open or closed. The following types occur. (C representing any consonant and V any single or doubled vowel):

CV: /jfi/ black

CVC: /hin/ three; /yóoh/ meat

CCV: /xríi/ six

VC: /koáh/ grasshopper

V: /níi/ fish

All syllable types except VC may occur initially,

medially, or finally; VC occurs only medially and finally. Canonical shapes of words are as follows:

CV.V: /ɲí.i/ fish

CV.VC: /ʔa.úʔ/ tail

CV.CV: /dá.nʸi/ sun

CV.CVC: /tá.búh/ snake

CV.CV.CVC: /pó.ʔo.lán/ pasture

CV.CV.CV.CVC: /ʔa.púlá.luh/ flower

CVC.CVC: /por.sín/ jungle chicken

CCV.CV.CVC: /gyá.há.máh/ leafy vegetable

CV.CCV.CV.CVC: pu.gyá.pu.yóh/ hornbill

Most words in the corpus are disyllabic. There are only fifteen words of one syllable. Thirteen of these are of the shape CVC and there is one CV and one CCV. There is a number of polysyllabic utterances of from three to six syllables but there is strong suspicion that these are word groups rather than single words.⁴

1.4.2 All Tani consonants occur in syllable initial,
including word initial, position:

/pápu/ egg; /típe/ tattoo; /cirúʔ/ men's
wallet; /kubúh/ rat; /ʔidíʔ/ spicy;
/bilʔóh/ yesterday; /dorííh/ winter, the time
of plenty of food; /joomííh/ cloud; /gorbán/ shoulder;
/sígoʔh/ bridge; /xooncán/ corner;
/helóóh/ forgive; /malóóh/ roof; /neesúh/ granary;
/nʔimáʔ/ enemy; /núnúh/ ours, plural;
/líduh/ heel; /lʔégóh/ threshold; /yálóh/ echo or shadow or man's spirit;
/reʔekéh/ ceiling.

Voiceless stops occur with greater frequency than other consonants in word initial position. In the corpus of 412 disyllabic words, 48% begin with voiceless stops, while about 10% begin with voiced stops, 10% with nasals, and about 15% each with fricative or resonant.

1.4.3. The consonants /ʔ h n ŋ r/ occur word or syllable finally:⁵

/tarúʔ/ ant; /tarúh/ mosquitoe;

/porsín/ jungle chicken; /ʔadán/

spear; /múpur/ broken jewel.

1.4.4. The following statement regarding permissible sequences of consonants is based on the 412 disyllabic words in the corpus.

The consonant clusters charted below occur within the syllable. C₁ is the first member of such clusters and C₂ the second:⁶

C ₂ C ₁	y	r
p	✓	✓
b	✓	✓
g	✓	✓
x		✓
m	✓	✓

Examples:

/lɪpyáh/ skin; /prɪnʲi/ eight;

/byóópááh/ hat; /koobrán/ bracelet;

/gyubúʔ/ heat; /gruntán/ matchmaker or

mediator in a quarrel; /taxrɪʔ/ louse;

/myóópɪh/ floor; /ʔarmrán/ name;

It is very probable that all Tani morphemes are monosyllabic. Hence, consonant clusters occurring across syllable boundaries cross morpheme boundaries as well. The following consonant clusters occur across syllable boundaries: C_1 is the syllable final consonant, first member of the cluster. C_2 is the syllable initial consonant or consonant cluster, second member of the cluster.

C ₂																	
C ₁	p	t	c	k	b	d	j	g	s	x	m	n	l	r	y	py	mr
m	✓													✓	✓	✓	
n		✓	✓			✓			✓								
ŋ				✓				✓									
r	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
ʔ				✓													
k				✓													
b					✓												

Examples:

/dífimpe/ braid; /ʔúmróh/ poison;

/saampyáh/ earth-carrying basket;

/jáántúúh/ fat; /ʔáncí/ other mother,

term of address for father's wife other

than one's own mother; /leendáh/ road;

/sensíʔ/ old, dried up; /neenkéʔ/ December;

/laaŋgúh/ throat; /marpúúh/ corn tassel;
 /hárti/ foam; /parkuuh/ crooked; /gorbán/ shoulder;
 /tardúú/ meat chungá, bamboo container;
 /párgín/ vulture; /sarséh/ millet; /gorxán/ armpit;
 /kurmúh/ grasshopper; /ŋaarnííh/ laughing;
 /kírlín/ elbow; /ʔáʔkooh/ short;
 /armrán/ name; /tabbusan/ python /pakkuh/ sparrow.

1.4.5. Any of the six vowels occurring singly may occur syllable initially and medially. All except /o/ and /a/ occur utterance finally:

/tiyíʔ/ sweet; /dánʸí/ sun; /ʔidíʔ/ spices;
 /laŋarí/ wrist; /kubúh/ rat; /kamú/ seven;
 /ʔémar/ dew; /pajéʔ/ duck; /típe/ tattoo;
 /yalán/ stone; /kocíʔ/ bitter; /yálóh/

echo, shadow, man's spirit.

All doubled vowels occur syllable medially.

/i/ and /u/ occur utterance finally:

/míípyááh/ early rice; /háárfíí/ Hari, one
of the seven Apa Tani villages; /tári?/ hail;
 /ŋíílááh/ owl; /ʔasííh/ bite; /puulúh/ white;
 /marpúúh/ corn tassel; /tardúú/ meat chungs,
bamboo vessel; /ʔeemááh/ dream; /saandááh/
pillar or post; /soʔokóóh/ chin.

The corpus contains the following vowel clusters:

/oa/; /au/; /ii/; /ui/;

/koááh/ nine; /ʔau?/ cane tail; /ŋíí/ fish;

/koáh/ large grasshopper; /ʔúi?/ spirit, god.

1.4.6. The following tonal patterns occur without

restriction, /V/ /V̄/ /VV/ /VV̄/:

/hímé/ child; /táje/ true; /kídííh/ plain;

earth; /ʔáʔkooh/ short; /ʔúúdéh/ house;

/mííloh/ husband; /ʔáámii/ cat; /sáádííh/

orchard; /kípaaʔ/ wild banana; /tamiʔ/ fly;

/pulóóh/ moon; /puulúh/ white; /saapoh/ log;

/peepúúʔ/ reed mat.

Syllables containing long vowels and having high-low (/ŨV/) or low-high (/VŨ/) tone occur only in word initial position:

/ʔáàne/ mother; /ʔááteh/ paternal uncle or

elder brother.

Notes.

¹ The treatment of vowel doubling and tone in this description must be considered tentative. The corpus contains material which points to the possibility that some as yet undetermined factor is conditioning vowel doubling. There are examples of the same morpheme containing a doubled vowel in a disyllabic utterance and a single one in a polysyllabic utterance:

/paaróh/ chicken; /paróróónih/ hen;

/peepúú?/ reed mat; /peepútábúh/ bed bug;

/pulóóh/ moon; /pulóhuutóh/ moonlight.

Most examples of minimal and subminimal pairs showing contrast between single and doubled vowels contain the same morpheme:

/sífimih/ it; /síki/ its; /ŋíimih/ me;

/ŋíki/ mine; /móki/ his; /móómih/ him;

/helóóh/ forgive; /heerúh/ a sore heart, can't forgive.

Examples of short vowel plus final consonant in free variation with long vowel:

/burúh/ [bùrrúh~bùrúú] alligator;

/tasín/ [tasín~tasíí] shrimp;

/yopátóh/ [yopáátóh~yooopátóh] Hindi

map karna, leave it, overlook it (imp.)

² Without direct access to informants it was impossible to check suspicious material in frames. While it is clearly established that there are at least two phonemic tones in the language, the possibility that there are more than two is not excluded.

For example, one of the only two minimal pairs in the corpus showing contrast between single and doubled vowels also shows contrast between high and much higher tone:

/ʔadóh/ [ʔàdó·h] spices; /ʔàdóóh/

[ʔàdó:h] distant.

There are a number of examples of the same morpheme showing alternation between high and low tone. In the example cited below, the tone of the second syllable in the words has been established by checking with marker /láaʔ-/ whose high-low tone is stable throughout. /láaʔ-/ is the marker for the arm and hand, /lí-/ the marker for parts of the leg and foot.

/láaʔpróh/ palm of the hand;

/láaʔpín/ back of the hand;

/láaʔcíf/ finger; /láaní/ thumb.

But /lípróh/ sole of the foot;

/lípín/ arch of the foot;

/lícíʔ/ toe; /líni/ big toe.

³ The predominant patterns are CVCVC and CVCV. Of the 412 disyllabic words in the corpus, 345 are of the shape CVCVC or CVCV; 67 are CVCCVC or CVCCV.

⁴ All verb roots in the corpus are monosyllabic. In their

"secret language" Tani students reverse syllables of words without disturbing meaning. For example, when asking a fellow student for a cigarette within earshot of the teacher, a student will say /kòmúh/ instead of /mókúh/ smoke, tobacco.

Markers for the various classes of nouns are monosyllabic. Kinship terms begin with /ʔa-/, names of edible animals with /si-/, of insects with /ta-/, of female beings with /ya-/, or birds with /pa-/ or /par-/.

Also polysyllabic utterances can be shown to consist of monosyllabic prefix plus numbers of monosyllabic verb and noun roots.

pa - ró - róó - nih hen

bird marker - chicken - (reduplication) - mother

⁵ The corpus contains a number of Hindi and Assamese loans. Of these only two seem incompletely assimilated into the

Tani system as regards final consonants. Assamese /lem/ from English lamp is Tani /leem/. Hindi /kitab/ book is Tani /xeetáb/ [xeetáb].

⁶ An alternative analysis would treat [ty dy ny ly] as consonant clusters /ty dy ny ly/ rather than as unit phonemes / c j n^y l^y/. Or, because stops /p b g/ occur as first member of consonant clusters with /y/ as does the nasal /m/, it would have been possible to posit palatalized series of stops and nasals. The following factors entered into the decision to treat these as unit phonemes instead:

In the corpus /c j/ occur twice as often as /py by gy/ together, while there are 45 occurrences of /n^y/ compared to 4 of /my/.

Once /c j/ have been considered unit phonemes, treatment of [ny ly] as units /n^y l^y/ fills out the alveopalatal series. The Tani informants were rather sophisticated and they considered that there were two l's in their language.

Areal considerations make it seem reasonable to treat /c j nʏlʏ/ as unit phonemes. Tani is already being written with Devanagari symbols for /c j/. In the surrounding Nis̩ dialects /nʏ/ and /lʏ/ are definitely single phonemes and it will probably be considered advisable to set up a common alphabet for Nis̩ and Tani if at all possible.

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1.5 APPENDIX

The following corpus has been alphabetized insofar as is possible according to the Devanagari system.

1.	ʔaaʔ	<u>mind</u>
2.	ʔaúʔ	<u>cane tail</u>
3.	ʔaúúhásúnííh	<u>bathing</u>
4.	ʔákiʔ	<u>dog</u>
5.	ʔáákúh	<u>maternal uncle</u>
6.	ʔakótáh	<u>another</u>
7.	ʔáʔkooh	<u>short</u>
8.	ʔagún	<u>mouth</u>
9.	ʔaáci	<u>father's brother's wife</u>
10.	ʔáci	<u>pain</u>
11.	ʔajín	<u>friend</u>
12.	ʔajíh	<u>paddy field</u>
13.	ʔájuh	<u>features</u>
14.	ʔájuʔayááh	<u>beautiful features</u>
15.	ʔájugaarúúh	<u>ugly features</u>
16.	ʔányíh	<u>two</u>
17.	ʔáátuh	<u>baby, small or young thing</u>
18.	ʔáátáh	<u>elder sister or paternal aunt</u>
19.	ʔaáteh	<u>elder brother or paternal uncle</u>
20.	ʔáátoh	<u>lord (term of address for father-in-law, grandfather)</u>
21.	ʔadínaci	<u>headache</u>

22.	ʔadán	<u>spear</u>
23.	ʔadíŋ	<u>head</u>
24.	ʔadóh	<u>spices</u>
25.	ʔadóóh	<u>distant</u>
26.	ʔánaxah	<u>mature woman</u>
27.	ʔánúh	<u>younger brother</u>
28.	ʔáane	<u>mother</u>
29.	ʔanííh	<u>leaf</u>
30.	ʔáncí	<u>step mother, father's younger</u> <u>wife</u>
31.	ʔápiŋ	<u>cooked rice</u>
32.	ʔápúálʔiʔ	<u>bow and arrow</u>
33.	ʔapúpúlíŋman	<u>bud</u>
34.	ʔapúlálúh	<u>flower</u>
35.	ʔábuh	<u>many</u>
36.	ʔabúúh	<u>fertile</u>
37.	ʔabán	<u>hot, spicy</u>
38.	ʔáábáh	<u>father</u>
39.	ʔábááxáh	<u>householder, mature man</u>
40.	ʔáámíí	<u>cat</u>
41.	ʔáámih	<u>tail</u>
42.	ʔámí	<u>maternal aunt</u>
43.	ʔamíʔ	<u>eye</u>
44.	ʔamííh	<u>shade</u>
45.	ʔámú	<u>fur</u>
46.	ʔámú	<u>false</u>

47.	?áámí	<u>daughter-in-law</u>
48.	?ásu?aléh	<u>lazy, slow</u>
49.	?asííh	<u>bite</u>
50.	?axaci	<u>stomache ache</u>
51.	?áxríh	<u>comb</u>
52.	?ahádoh	<u>itch</u>
53.	?alááh	<u>hand</u>
54.	?ááli	<u>leg, foot</u>
55.	?aléh	<u>wing</u>
56.	?álóóh	<u>bone</u>
57.	?alYán	<u>ten</u>
58.	?alYándah	<u>tenth day</u>
59.	?alYíí	<u>pig</u>
60.	?alYí?	<u>wind</u>
61.	?alYíí?asíí	<u>straw bedding</u>
62.	?álYí?áaróh	<u>monsoon</u>
63.	?alYíí?ací?	<u>farrowing pen</u>
64.	?alYííYíítan	<u>herd of pigs</u>
65.	?alYé?	<u>door</u>
66.	?alYé?átúh	<u>window (baby door)</u>
67.	?alYégóh	<u>threshold</u>
68.	?álYoh	<u>skin</u>
69.	?alYóh	<u>tongue</u>
70.	?arúmbúlYóh	<u>beside</u>
71.	?aará	<u>hip</u>
72.	?aaráíh	<u>horn</u>

73.	ʔargéʔ	<u>quiver</u>
74.	ʔargííh	<u>ridge</u>
75.	ʔáárdáh	<u>tomorrow</u>
76.	ʔarmrán	<u>name</u>
77.	ʔayááh	<u>good, beautiful</u>
78.	ʔayamah	<u>bad</u>
79.	ʔáyamisi	<u>old woman</u>
80.	ʔáyí	<u>teeth</u>
81.	ʔáyíí	<u>blood</u>
82.	ʔayíín	<u>equal</u>
83.	ʔayínsúódóh	<u>equal (comparison of two things)</u>
84.	ʔáyibyayun	<u>tomato</u>
85.	ʔáyókeenteh	<u>thick quilt</u>
86.	ʔaáyoh	<u>father's sister's husband,</u> <u>grandmother</u>
87.	ʔigyih	<u>ghost</u>
88.	ʔicáh	<u>dysentery</u>
89.	ʔiceh	<u>few</u>
90.	ʔiciriimíh	<u>spider</u>
91.	ʔinYíh	<u>sweet potato</u>
92.	ʔinYeh	<u>taro</u>
93.	ʔíndoh	<u>walking</u>
94.	ʔímíníh	<u>sleeping</u>
95.	ʔimpyóh	<u>first</u>
96.	ʔilYóʔ	<u>dao (knife?)</u>

97.	ʔííyah	<u>mother's sister's husband</u>
98.	ʔíyálíh	<u>jackal (Assamese loan)</u>
99.	ʔukóóbyáágo	<u>west platform</u>
100.	ʔúguh	<u>hearth</u>
101.	ʔúgupiríh	<u>frame of the hearth</u>
102.	ʔúúdéh	<u>house</u>
103.	ʔúúdéʔábyáh	<u>ladder outside the house</u>
104.	ʔudésáráŋ	<u>centre post</u>
105.	ʔúnesénkóh or ʔúnésénxóh	<u>scab</u>
106.	ʔúmróh	<u>poison</u>
107.	ʔuuráŋ	<u>wave</u>
108.	ʔúíʔ	<u>spirit, god</u>
109.	ʔeenti	<u>October</u>
110.	ʔeendaah	<u>May</u>
111.	ʔeéndiih or ʔééndiih	<u>rice seedlings</u>
112.	ʔemáánih	<u>dreaming</u>
113.	ʔeemáh	<u>dream</u>
114.	ʔémar	<u>dew</u>
115.	ʔéémoh	<u>paddy, (unhusked rice)</u>
116.	ʔemóʔ	<u>November</u>
117.	ʔéémóóʔeluh	<u>rice stalk</u>
118.	ʔeʔempyah	<u>cotton</u>
119.	ʔelYán	<u>head of a cereal grain</u>
120.	ʔeeréʔ	<u>stomach</u>

121.	ʔidíʔ	<u>hot, spicy</u>
122.	ʔipinan	<u>broom</u>
123.	ʔóóh	<u>rice beer</u>
124.	ʔoóh	<u>tall</u>
125.	kácóh	<u>dirty</u>
126.	kádoʔayi	<u>brinjal</u>
127.	kanú	<u>seven</u>
128.	kánúdáh	<u>seventh day</u>
129.	kapadoh	<u>seeing</u>
130.	káápyoh	<u>beautiful to see</u>
131.	káárúh	<u>ugly, (can't look!)</u>
132.	karnáh	<u>last</u>
133.	karpyóh	<u>first</u>
134.	kuŋ or koŋ	<u>one</u>
135.	kucíh	<u>near</u>
136.	kúpuh	<u>ear of corn</u>
137.	kubúh	<u>rat</u>
138.	kulúúh	<u>wild banana</u>
139.	kurmúh	<u>large grasshopper</u>
140.	keenteh	<u>quilted blanket</u>
141.	keélí	<u>trowel</u>
142.	kijih	<u>let's go!</u>
143.	kídífih	<u>land</u>
144.	kipaaʔ	<u>banana</u>
145.	kilih	<u>let's go!</u>

146.	kilésilyóh	<u>river bank</u>
147.	kileh	<u>Kile River</u>
148.	kirán	<u>energetic</u>
149.	kirlín	<u>elbow</u>
150.	koáh	<u>grasshopper</u>
151.	koááh	<u>nine</u>
152.	koáadah	<u>ninth day</u>
153.	kocí?	<u>bitter</u>
154.	koobíí?	<u>cabbage (Assamese loan)</u>
155.	koobrán	<u>bracelet</u>
156.	kóóloh	<u>day before yesterday</u>
157.	gaandáh	<u>world, earth</u>
158.	gáároh	<u>field, a measure of land</u>
159.	garnyóh	<u>a land measure</u>
160.	géhédóh	<u>yawning</u>
161.	góómúh	<u>moustache</u>
162.	góómpih	<u>beard</u>
163.	gooráh	<u>horse (Assamese loan)</u>
164.	gorbán	<u>shoulder</u>
165.	gorxán	<u>armpit</u>
166.	grúúcí	<u>lower class</u>
167.	grúúti	<u>upper class</u>
168.	gruntán	<u>matchmaker</u>
169.	gyáhámáh	<u>leafy vegetable</u>
170.	gyubú?	<u>heat</u>

171.	ḡaarnííh	<u>laughing</u>
172.	ḡúúnúmh	<u>us (plural)</u>
173.	ḡūnuh	<u>we (plural)</u>
174.	núnúh	<u>ours (plural)</u>
175.	ḡíi	<u>fish</u>
176.	ḡíisipiri	<u>fishpond</u>
177.	ḡáki	<u>mine</u>
178.	ḡíinYimih	<u>us (dual)</u>
179.	ḡínYih	<u>we (dual)</u>
180.	ḡínYih	<u>ours (dual)</u>
181.	ḡíímh	<u>me</u>
182.	ḡíiláh	<u>owl</u>
183.	ḡooh	<u>I</u>
184.	cibáh	<u>men's food pouch</u>
185.	cíírih	<u>Tibetan sword</u>
186.	cirú?	<u>purse</u>
187.	ḡáántúh	<u>fat</u>
188.	ḡíi	<u>black</u>
189.	ḡííjíf	<u>blue-green</u>
190.	ḡíitakó?	<u>dirt</u>
191.	ḡilYáh	<u>shawl</u>
192.	ḡe?ebíí	<u>mud</u>
193.	ḡoomííh	<u>cloud</u>
194.	nYa?ánYó?	<u>careless</u>
195.	nYagán	<u>chin</u>

196.	nYaacúh	<u>lip</u>
197.	nYá?átuh	<u>knife</u>
198.	nYalYáyóni	<u>weak</u>
199.	nYimá?	<u>enemy</u>
200.	nYímáh	<u>no one</u>
201.	nYi?imóh	<u>face</u>
202.	nYibyááh	<u>quick</u>
203.	nYibuh	<u>priest</u>
204.	nYífbóh	<u>guest</u>
205.	nYim	<u>girl</u>
206.	nYimiyáruh	<u>rainbow</u>
207.	nYímeh	<u>Tibetan</u>
208.	nYimhímé	<u>children</u>
209.	nYimún	<u>grown girl</u>
210.	taúyamúh	<u>firefly</u>
211.	ta?acih	<u>crab</u>
212.	ta?acinth	<u>split wood</u>
213.	tá?amóh	<u>strong</u>
214.	takaríi	<u>star</u>
215.	ta?aki?	<u>ginger</u>
216.	takir	<u>leopard</u>
217.	táági	<u>sickle</u>
218.	tánó?áláh	<u>honey</u>
219.	tá joh	<u>true</u>
220.	tanyí?	<u>corn</u>

221.	tan ^y iʔan ⁱ h	<u>corn leaf</u>
222.	tan ^y iʔaxoh	<u>mole</u>
223.	tán ^y iʔelyan	<u>corn cob</u>
224.	tan ^y iʔaxróh	<u>corn stalk</u>
225.	tan ^y iʔarp ⁱ h	<u>corn kernel</u>
226.	tan ^y i papúh	<u>popcorn</u>
227.	tat ⁱ ʔárníbúdóh	<u>eclipse</u>
228.	taaʔtín	<u>quilted blanket</u>
229.	tat ⁱ i	<u>frog</u>
230.	tatún ⁱ h	<u>broken stick</u>
231.	tadar ⁱ i	<u>worm</u>
232.	tan ⁱ n	<u>Tani</u>
233.	tan ⁱ i ⁱ h	<u>hear</u>
234.	tanogorgóh	<u>snail</u>
235.	tánopaxru	<u>snail's shell</u>
236.	tanóh	<u>mucus</u>
237.	tánoh	<u>thread</u>
238.	tapáádoh	<u>hearing</u>
239.	tápár ⁱ h	<u>stocks</u>
240.	tap ⁱ n	<u>snow, ice</u>
241.	tapitáám ⁱ h	<u>fledgeling bird</u>
242.	tapún	<u>bat</u>
243.	tapéʔ	<u>leech</u>
244.	tapóh	<u>spindle</u>
245.	tabún	<u>small pox</u>

246.	tábúh	<u>snake</u>
247.	táábbusán	<u>python</u>
248.	tabe?axróh	<u>sugar cane</u>
249.	támí	<u>grass</u>
250.	tamí?	<u>fly</u>
251.	tasán	<u>bead</u>
252.	tasánámí?	<u>small bead</u>
253.	tasín	<u>shrimp</u>
254.	taxrí?	<u>louse</u>
255.	táxríh	<u>squirrel</u>
256.	taláá?	<u>lock (Assamese loan)</u>
257.	talán	<u>chicken pox</u>
258.	talísín	<u>death by accident</u>
259.	talíyórdúh	<u>small, hot chillies</u>
260.	tarí?	<u>grass</u>
261.	tarí?	<u>itch</u>
262.	tári?	<u>hail or sleet</u>
263.	tarín	<u>men's knee bands</u>
264.	tarú?	<u>ant</u>
265.	tarúpúl ^{yé}	<u>mosquito net</u>
266.	tarúh	<u>mosquito</u>
267.	táruh	<u>vine</u>
268.	taaruh	<u>bad to drink</u>
269.	tááruh	<u>bad to hear</u>
270.	tartaṇu	<u>peacock</u>

271.	tardúú	<u>bamboo vessel for storing</u> <u>meat</u>
272.	tayí?	<u>leprosy</u>
273.	tayín	<u>mould</u>
274.	tayísitín	<u>death in a fit</u>
275.	tiyí?	<u>sweet</u>
276.	túúlih	<u>bamboo supports</u>
277.	túrladúh	<u>living</u>
278.	teeróh	<u>chillies</u>
279.	teeróyórdúh	<u>small, hot chillies</u>
280.	típe	<u>tattoo</u>
281.	dacán	<u>metal</u>
282.	dacán patare	<u>metal trunk</u>
283.	dánYí	<u>sun (torch)</u>
284.	dánYí?áágóh	<u>west</u>
285.	dánYí?áágóh	<u>east</u>
286.	dánYíbyehéndoh	<u>sunshine</u>
287.	dárúh	<u>summer</u>
288.	daaré?keh	<u>swinging shelf above the</u> <u>hearth</u>
289.	daaruh	<u>can't walk</u>
290.	di?ínán	<u>pillow</u>
291.	dinkuh	<u>hair ornament</u>
292.	diinkóóh	<u>hair pug</u>
293.	diintá?	<u>crown of the head</u>

294.	díípéh	<u>hoe</u>
295.	dípyoh	<u>thief</u>
296.	dípyomah	<u>tasteless</u>
297.	díímúh	<u>hair</u>
298.	diimpín	<u>headband</u>
299.	díímpe	<u>braid</u>
300.	dimsoh tánoh	<u>thread for tying hair</u>
301.	dískidii	<u>cement</u>
302.	dutááh	<u>Duta (Tani Village)</u>
303.	dutínnan	<u>low stool</u>
304.	dúsduh	<u>being</u>
305.	deempyóh	<u>mouse</u>
306.	dípyoh	<u>flavourful</u>
307.	dírúh	<u>bad to eat</u>
308.	dóólih	<u>disease</u>
309.	dol ^y ábyóódoh	<u>light ning</u>
310.	dorííh	<u>winter</u>
311.	dorgííh	<u>earthworm</u>
312.	narí'áyí	<u>lemon</u>
313.	naarún	<u>fence for a bamboo grove</u>
314.	náárúh	<u>good smell</u>
315.	nibyáh	<u>early</u>
316.	níímih	<u>you (objective)</u>
317.	núnúh	<u>you (plural)</u>

318.	neekánsulúh	<u>pig pen</u>
319.	neenké?	<u>December</u>
320.	neesúpóngh	<u>group of granaries</u>
321.	neesúh	<u>granary</u>
322.	neerúh	<u>bad smell</u>
323.	níki	<u>yours</u>
324.	nínYih	<u>you (dual)</u>
325.	níímkaneh	<u>how many</u>
326.	nooh	<u>you</u>
327.	nYimá?	<u>enemy</u>
328.	pákkúh	<u>pigeon</u>
329.	pacúh	<u>chick</u>
330.	paje?	<u>duck</u>
331.	pajé?átuh	<u>duckling</u>
332.	pajé?jé?ni	<u>female duck</u>
333.	pajégalán	<u>duck's down</u>
334.	pajé?je?poh	<u>drake</u>
335.	pataré	<u>box (Assamese loan)</u>
336.	paáte	<u>tiger</u>
337.	páátriimi	<u>spider</u>
338.	pápu	<u>egg</u>
339.	paalí?	<u>bamboo hoe</u>
340.	palyóh	<u>winding road</u>
341.	páárín	<u>sparrow</u>

342.	paaróh	<u>chicken</u>
343.	paropacúh	<u>chick</u>
344.	paróróónih	<u>hen</u>
345.	paroró'ópoh	<u>cock</u>
346.	parkuuh	<u>crooked</u>
347.	pardáh	<u>straight</u>
348.	páyopaacóh	<u>thank you</u>
349.	piindan	<u>short walls of house</u>
350.	pilán	<u>yellow</u>
351.	púúáh	<u>crow</u>
352.	pugyápuyóh	<u>hornbill</u>
353.	pujodáá	<u>after</u>
354.	pújooh	<u>before</u>
355.	punYúh	<u>spoon</u>
356.	putátánéh	<u>flock of birds</u>
357.	putá'ámuh	<u>feather</u>
358.	putáh	<u>bird</u>
359.	puutúh	<u>hill</u>
360.	pudúlééndáh	<u>mountain pass</u>
361.	punúh	<u>brain</u>
362.	pupare	<u>butterfly</u>
363.	puulúh	<u>white</u>
364.	pulYiitáábyoh	<u>hut</u>
365.	puléh	<u>feather</u>

366.	pulóhuutóh	<u>moonlight</u>
367.	puulYé cinín	<u>loom</u>
368.	puulYéh	<u>cloth</u>
369.	peecáh	<u>fruit</u>
370.	peepúú?	<u>reed mat</u>
371.	peepútábúh	<u>bed bug</u>
372.	píje	<u>July</u>
373.	píími	<u>June</u>
374.	pisásááni	<u>pine tree</u>
375.	pilYif	<u>four</u>
376.	pírgín	<u>vulture</u>
377.	p ó?olán	<u>pasture</u>
378.	pokayalán	<u>brick (Assamese concrete</u> <u>plus Tani stone)</u>
379.	porsín	<u>jungle chicken</u>
380.	praátih	<u>brown rice</u>
381.	prááréh	<u>early rice</u>
382.	prínYi	<u>eight</u>
383.	prínYidah	<u>eighth day</u>
384.	baatín	<u>half gate</u>
385.	balúpápu	<u>seedling</u>
386.	bármí	<u>younger sister</u>
387.	bíijéh	<u>bamboo, bamboo grove</u>
388.	binííh	<u>give</u>

389.	burúh	<u>alligator</u>
390.	beeníh	<u>praying (Nisi loan)</u>
391.	bipí?	<u>below</u>
392.	bílááh	<u>Bela (Tani Village)</u>
393.	bilín	<u>fruit</u>
394.	bilYóh	<u>yesterday</u>
395.	bó?ógoh	<u>irrigation ditch</u>
396.	bortátábúh	<u>scorpion</u>
397.	braarán	<u>stand for husking block</u>
398.	byakúú?	<u>onion</u>
399.	byáágoh	<u>east platform of the house</u>
400.	byópágalán	<u>hat feather</u>
401.	byóópááh	<u>hat</u>
402.	manYán	<u>friend</u>
403.	ma?abóh	<u>brother-in-law</u>
404.	malóóh	<u>roof</u>
405.	marpúúh	<u>corn tassel</u>
406.	mi?tiyalóh	<u>eyebrow</u>
407.	mícibáámín	<u>Michi Bamin (Tani Village)</u>
408.	mítih	<u>master</u>
409.	mitrúmísi	<u>old man (mitru-Assamese loan?)</u>
410.	midín	<u>seedling bed</u>
411.	míípyááh	<u>early rice</u>
412.	misán	<u>Nisi</u>

413.	misí	<u>old man</u>
414.	mihí	<u>wife</u>
415.	míflōh	<u>husband</u>
416.	miyaján	<u>wives other than the first</u>
417.	miyaxáh	<u>first wife</u>
418.	myutoneh	<u>crowd of men</u>
419.	myusini	<u>corpse</u>
420.	múʔugóh	<u>pool</u>
421.	múksudúh	<u>pipe, smoke</u>
422.	muditámúh	<u>betel (Assamese tamul)</u>
423.	mudúʔ	<u>broken valuable</u>
424.	mudántaageh	<u>Modang Tage (Tani Village)</u>
425.	mudóh	<u>rain</u>
426.	múpur	<u>broken valuable</u>
427.	mulanjáh	<u>all</u>
428.	murúúmpúló	<u>January month (moon)</u>
429.	múkkuh	<u>tobacco</u>
430.	míjáátíí kuh	<u>finished</u>
431.	mítih	<u>fix</u>
432.	mídándoh	<u>touching</u>
433.	mílʔóh	<u>flame</u>
434.	míráh	<u>slave</u>
435.	míruh	<u>hard to do</u>
436.	móó ánʔiki	<u>theirs (dual)</u>

437.	móóʔán ^y imih	<u>them (dual)</u>
438.	móóʔán ^y ih	<u>they (dual)</u>
439.	móóʔáluk	<u>theirs (plural)</u>
440.	móóʔáluh	<u>they (plural)</u>
441.	móóʔálumih	<u>them (plural)</u>
442.	móká	<u>his, hers</u>
443.	móómih	<u>him, her</u>
444.	móoh	<u>him, her</u>
445.	moóruh	<u>cheek</u>
446.	moorééh	<u>jungle</u>
447.	myókópúló	<u>March</u>
448.	myóópá'h	<u>floor</u>
449.	myóóbí'h	<u>orchard</u>
450.	myooxáh	<u>floor</u>
451.	sáádí'h	<u>orchard</u>
452.	sááanal ^y oh	<u>bark</u>
453.	sááni'h	<u>tree</u>
454.	saandááh	<u>pillar</u>
455.	saapoh	<u>log</u>
456.	saabéʔ	<u>key (Assamese loan)</u>
457.	saampúh	<u>large bead</u>
458.	saampóh	<u>basket</u>
459.	saampyáh	<u>earth-carrying basket</u>
460.	sal ^y íʔ	<u>blue-green</u>

461.	saʔarin	<u>common cold</u>
	saʔarin dóh	
462.	sarcéh	<u>torn cloth</u>
463.	saardúʔ	<u>torn into small pieces</u>
464.	sarséh	<u>millet</u>
465.	síkán ^y iki	<u>its (dual)</u>
466.	síki	<u>its (sg.)</u>
467.	sicóʔ	<u>irrigation channel</u>
468.	sín ^y opásini	<u>natural death</u>
469.	síímih	<u>it (obj.)</u>
470.	síih	<u>it</u>
471.	sudúú	<u>bamboo vessel</u>
472.	súbútónéh	<u>herd of methan</u>
473.	subún	<u>sheep</u>
474.	sulúúh	<u>fence</u>
475.	séʔeh	<u>carrying band of basket</u>
476.	segán	<u>stream</u>
477.	sensíʔ	<u>lean, dried up</u>
478.	sííʔatúh	<u>calf</u>
479.	sííʔuudéh	<u>cow shed</u>
480.	síteh	<u>elephant</u>
481.	sidín	<u>deer</u>
482.	sígoh	<u>bridge</u>
483.	sibúú	<u>goat</u>

484.	sibíh	<u>monkey</u>
485.	siiboh	<u>male methan (bos frontalis)</u>
486.	símúh	<u>sand</u>
487.	síímih	<u>female methan</u>
488.	sísoh	<u>jungle cat</u>
489.	síih	<u>cow</u>
490.	sííhííboh	<u>bull</u>
491.	silóh	<u>today</u>
492.	siréh	<u>jungle pig</u>
493.	só'oko'álóh	<u>jaw bone</u>
494.	só'okóóh	<u>chin</u>
495.	soóh	<u>here</u>
496.	sooján	<u>lizard</u>
497.	sooníih	<u>play</u>
498.	soopín	<u>house lizard</u>
499.	xunYíí	<u>husking pole</u>
500.	xuyí'	<u>sour</u>
501.	xúh	<u>old</u>
502.	xeetáb	<u>book (Hindi loan)</u>
503.	xe'eníih	<u>crying</u>
504.	xríí	<u>six</u>
505.	xíini	<u>navel</u>
506.	xootúúh	<u>hair ornament</u>
507.	xooncán	<u>corner</u>

508.	xoondan	<u>short walls of a house</u>
509.	haʔalóh	<u>branch</u>
510.	haagyáh	<u>gate</u>
511.	haan	<u>Hang (Tani village)</u>
512.	han ^y áh	<u>last child</u>
513.	haatáh	<u>chest</u>
514.	haadííh	<u>anger</u>
515.	haapáh	<u>plateau</u>
516.	haapín	<u>mist</u>
517.	haabyán	<u>breast</u>
518.	hamán	<u>vegetables</u>
519.	haasóh	<u>slow</u>
520.	haalúh	<u>clan</u>
521.	háálo	<u>September</u>
522.	hal ^y ánci	<u>death on the plains</u>
523.	hal ^y án	<u>cave</u>
524.	haal ^y án	<u>plainsman</u>
525.	hal ^y ánbráyún	<u>potato</u>
526.	haal ^y ín	<u>April</u>
527.	háárííh	<u>Hari (Tani village)</u>
528.	hárti	<u>foam</u>
529.	harlán	<u>thigh</u>
530.	hiikáálánámíh	<u>smiling</u>
531.	hin	<u>three</u>

532.	hijááh	<u>Hija (Tani village)</u>
533.	hiibúh	<u>beak</u>
534.	hímé	<u>boy, child</u>
535.	huʔurín	<u>cane belt</u>
536.	hubyúh	<u>scabbard</u>
537.	húúh	<u>who</u>
538.	húlíh	<u>boil (noun)</u>
539.	húlʔíʔ	<u>lard</u>
540.	héʔé tóh	<u>irrigation ditch inside</u> <u>rice plot</u>
541.	henkórénkimah	<u>careless (doesn't think)</u>
542.	hencimah	<u>careless (doesn't know to think)</u>
543.	hééndípatakah	<u>thoughtful</u>
544.	helóóh	<u>forgive</u>
545.	heerúh	<u>hurt mind (can't forgive)</u>
546.	híikúh	<u>finish</u>
547.	híróh	<u>first child</u>
548.	hoogyáh	<u>leopard</u>
549.	hoolááh	<u>fruit</u>
550.	laʔín	<u>nail</u>
551.	láʔacíí	<u>finger</u>
552.	láʔácíh	<u>left</u>
553.	láʔatáh	<u>open hand</u>
554.	láʔapúh	<u>fist</u>

555.	láʔani	<u>thumb</u>
556.	laancán	<u>red</u>
557.	lancúsúduh	<u>silver smoking pipe</u>
558.	láʔapín	<u>back of the hand</u>
559.	láʔapókúpuh	<u>muscle</u>
560.	láʔapróh	<u>palm of the hand</u>
561.	laʔabíh	<u>right</u>
562.	lanarí	<u>wrist</u>
563.	lángkuuh	<u>sitting crooked</u>
564.	laangúh	<u>throat</u>
565.	ladmírín	<u>elbow</u>
566.	laancán	<u>red</u>
567.	laampóh	<u>back of the neck</u>
568.	laxríh	<u>cold</u>
569.	laaruh	<u>can't be taken</u>
570.	lááróh	<u>flint and tinder</u>
571.	lúkuuh	<u>crooked talk</u>
572.	luucíʔ	<u>veranda</u>
573.	lumáh	<u>root</u>
574.	lújeh	<u>truthful</u>
575.	lúmuuh	<u>liar, lying</u>
576.	lúruh	<u>bad to say</u>
577.	leéngoh	<u>courtyard</u>
578.	leʔecáh	<u>fibre rain coat</u>

579.	leendáh	<u>path</u>
580.	leem	<u>lamp (Assamese - English loan)</u>
581.	leʔeráh	<u>knapsack</u>
582.	ligárdóh	<u>bent</u>
583.	lícíʔ	<u>toe</u>
584.	líduh	<u>heel</u>
585.	líni	<u>big toe</u>
586.	liipáh	<u>middle child</u>
587.	lipín	<u>arch of the foot</u>
588.	lípróh	<u>sole of the foot</u>
589.	lipyáh	<u>skin</u>
590.	libán	<u>knee</u>
591.	libúsiní	<u>death in childbirth</u>
592.	limíyálóh	<u>ankle</u>
593.	lisííʔ	<u>straw</u>
594.	lísimpórtēh	<u>calf</u>
595.	lʸégóh	<u>threshold</u>
596.	raakóʔ	<u>tortoise</u>
597.	ríídah	<u>third day</u>
598.	ribódah	<u>fourth day</u>
599.	rixídah	<u>sixth day</u>
600.	rilʸándah	<u>fifth day</u>
601.	ruutín	<u>large earrings (women's)</u>
602.	ruúnih	<u>mad</u>

603.	ruupín	<u>earrings (men's)</u>
604.	reʔekéh	<u>ceiling</u>
605.	rénédóh	<u>tired</u>
606.	ríʔibín	<u>terraced field</u>
607.	rónetah	<u>again</u>
608.	roʔotánroolán	<u>flock of chickens</u>
609.	yáʔapróh	<u>dry field</u>
610.	yaági	<u>basket</u>
611.	yánó	<u>five</u>
612.	yatán	<u>bread, biscuit</u>
613.	yadín	<u>clothes box</u>
614.	yaanííh	<u>leaf</u>
615.	yaapáh	<u>young man</u>
616.	yapín	<u>nose</u>
617.	yapínhúlóh	<u>ornamental nose plugs</u>
618.	yapúnagóh	<u>sky</u>
619.	yapúngéhéndóh	<u>thunder</u>
620.	yaapúh	<u>shawl</u>
621.	yaapúpúúlʔeh	<u>sheet</u>
622.	yam taaníh	<u>smoking</u>
623.	yapúúh	<u>name for white female methun</u>
624.	yámuh	<u>fire</u>
625.	yásih	<u>water</u>
626.	yasópatare	<u>cane trunk</u>

627.	yasóh	<u>cane</u>
628.	yástudoh	<u>flood</u>
629.	yáspadíṇhaadóh	<u>tributary</u>
630.	yáshíildóh	<u>lake</u>
631.	yáshílni	<u>water conduit</u>
632.	yáxe	<u>name for a black cow</u>
633.	yalán	<u>name for a red cow</u>
634.	yalán	<u>stone</u>
635.	yalánlantún	<u>boulder</u>
636.	yálóh	<u>shadow, echo, spirit of man</u>
637.	yarúruúpiṇ	<u>wooden ear plugs</u>
638.	yuugyán	<u>altar</u>
639.	yopátóh	<u>leave it!</u>
640.	yóoh	<u>meat</u>
641.	yorxrurṇ	<u>blackpepper</u>
642.	yorkúh	<u>old chillies</u>
643.	yórniih	<u>new chillies</u>
644.	yorbípuṇxóh	<u>valley</u>
645.	yorbíh	<u>mountain</u>
646.	yorlúúh	<u>garden</u>

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